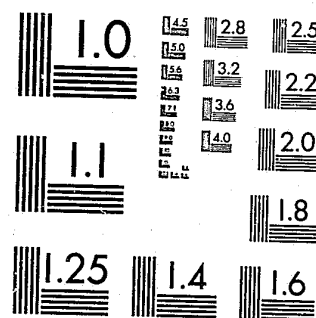


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REPORT ON THE INCIDENCE OF FAILURE TO APPEAR
BY DEFENDANTS CHARGED WITH DRUG CRIMES
IN THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF FLORIDA

NCJRS

MAR 28 1983

ACQUISITIONS

This report was prepared by the Pretrial Services Branch of the Administrative Office of the United States Courts at the request of Congressman William J. Hughes, Chairman of the Subcommittee on Crime of the House Committee on the Judiciary. In a letter written March 17, 1981, to Mr. William E. Foley, Director of the Administrative Office of the United States Courts, Congressman Hughes asked that a study be conducted which would examine the nature of the fugitive and failure to appear problem regarding defendants charged with drug offenses in the Southern District of Florida. It was specifically requested that the analysis include:

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An identification of the defendants who fail to appear for trial after having met release conditions established at a bail hearing and those who are classified as fugitives by other criteria (such as by being the subjects of unexecuted arrest warrants, being sought by law enforcement, etc.) The study should analyze the fugitive problem by offense, conditions of release, previous conviction and arrest records of defendants, stage of the proceedings at which flight occurs, nationality status and ties to the community, and by other relevant factors. It should, of course, compare flight cases with nonflight ones, for any knowledge that may be contained in this information concerning the setting of appropriate and successful release conditions. Cases in which the release conditions were not met and the defendants remained in pretrial detention should be similarly examined.

To assist in this study the Pretrial Services Branch selected pretrial services officers with extensive experience in collecting and coding bail data. The team was supervised and assisted by the pretrial services specialist who has had primary responsibility for compiling similar information provided to Congress on the 10 Pretrial Services demonstration districts. These districts are: Southern New York, Eastern New York, Eastern Pennsylvania, Maryland, Northern Illinois, Eastern Michigan, Western Missouri, Northern Georgia,

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Northern Texas, and Central California. The officers' experience enhances the accuracy of the data and the reliability of the findings in this report.

The report consists of four major sections. The first is a description of the general demographic data that was collected in the district; the second examines the characteristics of defendants charged with drug offenses; the third deals with those defendants who were charged with drug offenses and failed to appear; the final section analyzes the characteristics of drug defendants who were detained until the disposition of their cases. All available information on each defendant prosecuted in statistical year 1979 (the 12-month period ending June 30, 1979) and statistical year 1980 (the 12-month period ending June 30, 1980) was collected. Cases involving Rule 20 transfers to or from other districts for prosecution as well as cases in which defendants were secured for prosecution by writs of habeas corpus were excluded from the study. All cases which were not "closed" were also excluded. (A closed case is defined as one in which a final sentence or judicial verdict was rendered or one in which the defendant failed to appear and a bench warrant was issued.) This report is based on the 1,473 defendant cases that met these criteria and where significant, comparisons are made with statistics generated by the ten Pretrial Services demonstration districts and the annual report of the Director.

I. GENERAL STATISTICS ON ALL DEFENDANTS

An examination of some of the general statistics regarding the Southern District of Florida reveals the following:

Table 1.

	1-Year Period Ending June 30, 1979			1-Year Period Ending June 30, 1980		
	cases filed	defendants prosecuted	average defendant /case	cases filed	defendants prosecuted	average defendant /case
FL/S	548	1,057	1.93	602	1,216	2.02
Nationally	31,536	42,245	1.34	27,968	38,033	1.36

The above table reveals that for the last 2 completed statistical years, while the number of cases filed and the number of defendants prosecuted nationally have declined by about 10%, the number of cases filed in the Southern District of Florida increased by 10% and the number of defendants prosecuted in that district has increased 15%.

In addition, the number of defendants per case is higher in the Southern District of Florida than in the national average. A possible explanation for this disparity in trends between the Southern District of Florida and the national average may be seen in the table below.

Table 2.

	1-Year Period Ending June 30, 1979			1-Year Period Ending June 30, 1980		
	drug cases filed	defendants prosecuted for drug offenses	average defendants per drug case	drug cases filed	defendants prosecuted for drug offenses	average defendants per drug case
FL/S	182	572	3.14	241	573	2.46
Nationally	3,277	7,208	2.20	3,130	6,678	2.13

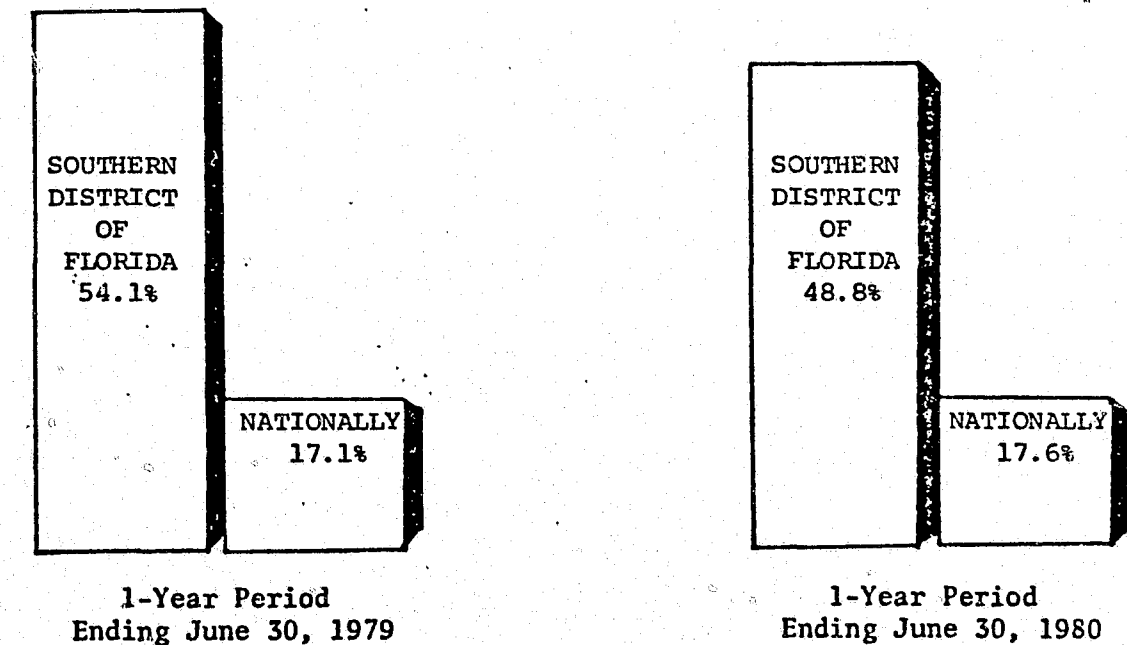
The national statistics reveal a decline in drug prosecutions from 1979 to 1980, while the Southern District of Florida's drug cases increased over 30% during that same time period.

The average number of defendants per drug case in the Southern District of Florida remains consistently higher than the national average. Since the nondrug cases in the SD/FL have remained relatively stable from 1979 to 1980, the increase in the work of the courts appears to be directly attributable to the increase in narcotics cases filed in that district.

Most drug prosecutions in the Federal courts are fairly evenly distributed among the identified activities of possession and sale with the activities of importing, manufacturing, and improper dispensing occurring less frequently. In the Southern District of Florida the activities most often identified in indictments are sales and importation.

Graph 1.

Percent of all defendants prosecuted who were charged with drug offenses.



Fewer than 1 in 5 of all defendants prosecuted nationally are charged with drug offenses, while approximately every other defendant brought before the court in the Southern District of Florida is charged with a drug offense.

A. Defendant Characteristics

As explained in the introduction, 1,473 closed defendant cases from the Southern District of Florida were examined.

The following table identifies the status of those 1,473 defendants in the survey as of July 15, 1981:

Table 3.

No FTA	Never Arraigned -Fugitive	Made Bail, FTA Before Trial -Fugitive	Made Bail, Convicted FTA Before Sentence -Fugitive	Made Bail, Convicted Appealed FTA -Fugitive	Made Bail FTA Apprehended & Sentenced	Never Released
1,158 78.6%	39 2.6%	102 6.9%	6 0.4%	6 0.4%	57 3.9%	105 7.1%

One hundred and fifty-three (73%) of the 210 defendants who fled from prosecution at any stage of the process are still at large.

Of the 1,473 closed defendant cases, 39 (2.6% of the total cases) defendants were never arrested or summoned to appear (law enforcement simply could not locate these defendants to arrest them - they remain fugitives to date) and thus, never entered the court system beyond being named in an indictment. Since bail was never set on these defendants, they will be excluded in any discussion concerning bail violations or bail rates.

One hundred and five (7.1%) defendants were arrested, appeared at an initial bail hearing, and subsequently were never able to meet their bail requirements (usually money bail). As they were never released on bail, they will also be excluded in any discussion concerning bail violations or bail rates.

Percentages in this portion of the report are based on the actual number of defendants on which data was available for that specific characteristic. Data was not available for all characteristics in the Southern District on all defendants. Subsequent descriptions comparing the Southern District of Florida with the 10 Pretrial Services Agency districts reflect the extent data was not available

for each category and the percentages in those tables are based on total number of defendants in the study.

Citizenship - U. S. citizens made up 49.4% of the defendants prosecuted the Southern District of Florida during the time period covered by the study. In the 10 Pretrial Services Agency districts, U.S. citizens accounted for 92.2% of the defendants. Legal aliens accounted for 15.7% of the defendant population, and illegal aliens another 8.7%. The research team was unable to precisely identify the citizenship of 26.2% of those prosecuted, though in considering all surrounding factors, an educated guess is that most were "illegals" from Central and South America.

Ethnicity - The largest ethnic groups represented were white, 43.8%; Hispanic (South and Central American), 33.1%; and Hispanic (Cuban), 12.9%. The ethnicity of the remaining 10.2% was unknown.

Time in District - The statistics in this category provide insight to the problems of crime and failure to appear in the district. Forty-seven percent (47%) of all the defendants in the study had resided in the district less than one month at the time they were being prosecuted. This compares to a percentage of only 7.4% in the 10 pilot Pretrial Services districts.

Employment - Sixty-four percent (64%) of defendants were employed. This percentage in the 10 Pretrial Services Agency districts is only 50%. The differences here can be attributed to the large number of high volume drug dealers in the Southern District of Florida and their claims of self-employment in enterprises which are no more than "fronts" for their illegal activities.

Marital Status - Forty-one percent (41%) of all the defendants were married, 26% were single, and the remainder were divided among the subcategories of separated, divorced, widowed, and unknown.

Opiate Addiction - Only 1.3% of all the defendants admitted to or were determined to be addicted to opiates. This figure, on its face, seems unusually low, especially when you consider that drug cases occur 2½ times more frequently in this district than nationally,

and that opiate addiction in the 10 Pretrial Services Agency districts exceeds 5%. However, the percentages are not surprising when considering that (1) arrests involving opiates account for only 5% of the defendants in the Southern District of Florida drug cases and, that (2) addicts are not reliable couriers or business associates in such large scale drug operations.

Criminal History - Twenty-seven percent (27%) of the defendants had previous adult convictions, 13.5% had been committed to adult criminal institutions, 12.1% had a pending offense at the time of their arrest, and 0.9% were on parole.

B. Defendants and the Court Process

An overwhelming percentage of cases in the district are processed in Miami (75%). Drug cases were the type most frequently filed in the district. The 747 defendants charged in that category make up 50.7% of the total. Defendants charged with fraud and embezzlement violations were the second largest group (13.8%) followed by immigration cases (11.5%).

Bail and Detention

Bail was set for 1,444 defendants and 1,329 were released at some point of the proceedings for an overall release rate of 92.3%. It is worth noting that the release rate in the 10 Pretrial Services districts was 88% during the same time period. In the Southern District of Florida 952 of the 1,329 released defendants (71%) were able to meet the conditions of bail at their initial appearance and 672 of the 1,329 (50%) were held in pretrial custody for less than one day. The initial release rate in the 10 Pretrial Services Agency districts was 76%.

Conditions of release in which a defendant had to post cash or collateral or utilize compensated surities were set in 50% of the cases. During the same period such conditions were set only 31% of the time in the 10 Pretrial Services Agency districts.

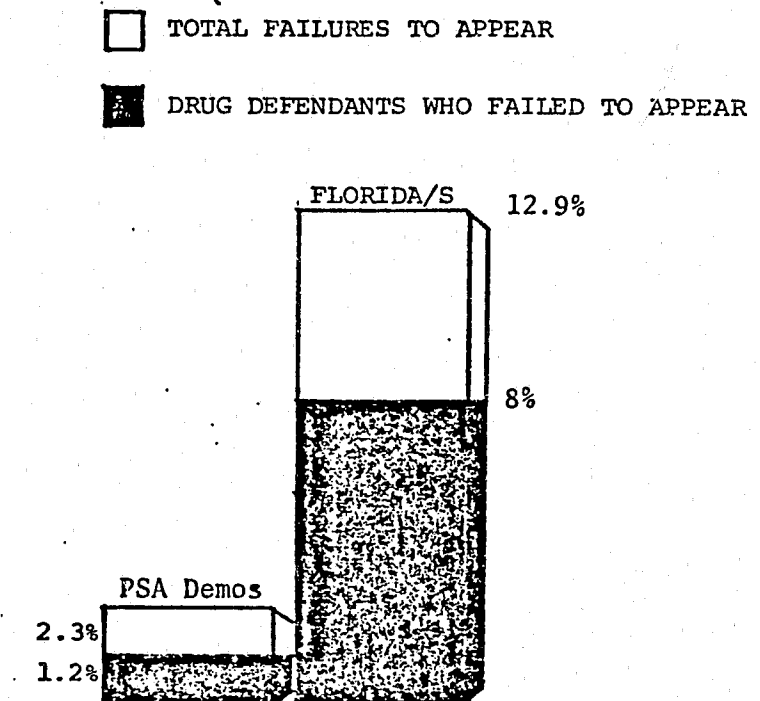
Failure to Appear

The failure to appear rate for defendants who had bond set at a court appearance and were released was 12.9%. During the same

time period the 10 Pretrial Services districts experienced failure to appear rates of 2.3% (less than 1/5 of the rate in the Southern District of Florida).

Graph 2.

Failures To Appear as a Percent
of All Cases Prosecuted in Miami
For the 2-Year Period (July 1, 1978 - June 30, 1980)



Case Disposition

There were 39 (2.6% of total cases) defendants who were never arrested and are still fugitives. Of the 1,329 defendants who were released, 102 (7.6%) failed to appear after bond was set at a court hearing and are still at large. Excluding the 39 defendants who were never arrested, 1,026 (71.5%) of the remaining 1,434 defendants were convicted, 220 (15.3%) had their cases dismissed, 76 (5.3%) were acquitted, and 8 (.55%) died during the pretrial process. Six hundred and seventy-five (675) or 66% of those convicted received custodial sentences of some type.

II. DEFENDANTS CHARGED WITH DRUG OFFENSES

Defendants charged with drug offenses were reviewed in a manner similar to the preceding general defendant population. As previously stated, court records revealed that 747 (50.7%) of the total number of defendants (1,473) in the 2-year period were charged with drug offenses.

Table 4.

<u>Types of drugs and Activities</u>				
	<u>Import</u>	<u>Sell</u>	<u>Possess</u>	<u>Totals</u>
Marijuana	160	73	35	268
Heroin	4	27	5	36
Cocaine	89	199	75	363
Qualuude	4	63	7	74
All Others	<u>0</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>6</u>
Totals	257	368	122	747

Table 4 indicates the type of illegal activity charged and the specific type of drug involvement. These indicators were taken directly from indictments filed in each case. The largest number of defendants were charged with selling cocaine (199 or 27%). However, during the investigation, it became obvious that the activity of primary concern in this district is importation due to the large quantities of drugs involved. Wholesale value of all drugs seized during the period studied was over one-half billion dollars.

A. Defendant Characteristics

Citizenship - U.S. citizens made up 45.8% of those defendants charged with drug offenses. Legal aliens accounted for 21.4%, illegal aliens 6.6%, and 20.7% were of undetermined citizenship. In the 10 demonstration districts 87% of those defendants prosecuted for drug offenses are U.S. citizens.

Ethnicity - The largest ethnic group represented was Hispanic, with Cubans (18.2%) and South and Central Americans (34%) accounting for a total of 52.2% of all drug defendants. Whites made up the second largest group (42.8%).

Time in District - Almost one half (48%) of the defendants charged with drug offenses had lived less than 1 month in the district at the time the offense for which they were prosecuted was committed.

In the 10 Pretrial Services Agency districts defendants in that category made up only 11.8% of the total during the same time period.

Employment - Court records indicated that 51% of the drug defendants were employed, with another 17.8% of unidentified status. In the Pretrial Services Agency districts, 61% of the drug offenders were employed.

Marital Status - Married defendants made up 38.7% of the drug offender category. Twenty-four percent were single and 20.4% were divorced or separated.

Opiate Addiction - Only 1% of these defendants claimed or were found to be addicted to opiates at the time of their arrest, while in the Pretrial Services Agency districts, almost 5% were addicted.

Criminal History - Slightly more than 27% of these defendants had previous adult convictions (45% in PSA) and 11% had some type of adult criminal commitment (20% in PSA). Only 1.4% were on probation or parole at the time of their arrest.

B. Defendants and the Court Process

Bail and Detention - After removing the 17 defendants who were never arrested from the total of 747, the overall release rate for drug offenders is 92% (669 released out of 730) release rate in PSA districts is 88%). Sixty-one percent of these defendants made the bail that was set at their initial appearance. The rate at which money bail (financial conditions of release) was set was 65%. During the same period of time the 10 Pretrial Services Agency districts set money bond for 54% of the drug defendants.

When financial conditions of release were set in Florida, the bond amount for drug defendants was in the \$20,000 to \$50,000 range in 44% of the cases and above \$50,000 another 19% of the time. In the Pretrial Services Agency districts it was in the former range for 19% of the defendants and the latter 10.5% of the time. Thus, money bail was set in drug cases in amounts greater than \$20,000 more than twice as often in the Southern District of Florida than in the 10 Pretrial Services Agency districts (63% - 29.5%).

Failure to Appear

A total of 118 (17.6%) of 669 defendants failed to appear after bail was set and they were released. In addition, 17 defendants were never arrested and remain fugitives.

The table below depicts the release and fugitive status of all 747 defendants charged with drug offenses.

Table 5.

No FTA	Never Arrested -Fugitive	Made Bail, FTA Before Trial -Fugitive	Made Bail, Convicted FTA Before Sentence -Fugitive	Made Bail, Convicted Sentenced FTA -Fugitive	Made Bail FTA Apprehended & Sentenced	Never Released
551	17	78	4	4	32	61
73.8%	2.3%	10.4%	0.5%	0.5%	4.3%	8.2%

Case Disposition - Seventeen (2%) of the drug defendants were never arrested and are still fugitives and another 78 (11%) remain fugitives after being released on bail. Of the remaining 652 defendants, 522 (80%) were convicted, 80 (12%) had their cases dismissed, 49 (7.5%) were acquitted, and 3 (.05%) died prior to trial.

The average length of sentence was 44 months. The average custody sentence in the 10 demonstration districts for the same time period is 33 months. Of the 522 who were convicted, a custodial sentence was given to 449 (85%) defendants.

III. DEFENDANTS CHARGED WITH DRUG OFFENSES WHO FAILED TO APPEAR

here were 135 defendants charged with drug offenses in the Southern District of Florida who became fugitives. The particular point in the court proceedings at which these defendants became fugitives is isolated in columns 2 through 6 of table 5 (preceding page).

A. Defendant Characteristics

Citizenship - Only 23 (17%) of the defendants in this category were American citizens, 4 (2.9%) were illegal aliens, and 100 (74%) were of undetermined citizenship.

Ethnicity - Seventy-five percent of the defendants in this group were Hispanic. The remaining 25% were white.

Time in District - Over 85% of the narcotics defendants who failed to appear had been in the district for less than one month. Defendants in the same category in the 10 Pretrial Services Agency districts had been in the district less than 1 month in only 10.4% of the cases.

Employment - Employment information was available for only 54% of these defendants. Fourteen point eight percent of the defendants were employed and the remaining 31% were unemployed. Store front "businesses" and unverified claims of self-employment were believed to be untrue claims by defendants to explain large amounts of money derived from drug transactions.

Marital Status - Data on marital status for defendants in this category was too incomplete to utilize.

Opiate Addiction - The researchers were unable to identify any opiate users or addicts among defendants in this category.

Criminal History - Sixteen percent (16%) of those in this category had previous convictions, 11% had previous adult criminal commitments, 2% were on probation or parole at the time of the new

charges, and 5% had other charges pending. In the 10 demonstration districts 54% had prior records, 50% had adult convictions, 37.5% had previous adult commitments, and 27.1% had other pending offenses.

B. Defendants and the Court Process

As 17 of the above discussed 135 defendants never entered the court process other than being named in an indictment and having a warrant issued for their arrest, they will be excluded from the remainder of the analysis. They were never arrested, bond was never set and, thus, by definition, are not true bond jumpers (FTA's).

Bail and Detention - Of the 117 drug defendants who jumped bond, 63 (54%) were not detained at any point of the pretrial process. Of those released, 73 (62%) of the fugitives posted money bond and the remaining 45 (38%) were released on nonfinancial terms. Bail was set above \$20,000 for 65% of the defendants who posted bond. The average amount of bond set for these defendants who failed to appear was \$75,800. It was set above \$20,000 twenty percent of the time in the 10 Pretrial Services Agency districts.

Failure to Appear - Of the 117 drug defendants who failed to appear, 85 (73%) are still at large. The remaining 32 defendants have been apprehended and their cases concluded, as discussed below.

Case Disposition - A total of 32 individuals who were placed on bond became fugitives but were apprehended and returned to court for disposition. The average amount of bond set for these defendants was \$57,100. Upon their return to court, 14 (44%) were convicted, 1 died, 3 were acquitted, and the remaining 14 defendants were dismissed. Of those 14 convicted, all but one was sentenced to the custody of the Attorney General. Two received less than 18 months and the remaining 12 were sentenced for varying terms of from 3 to 9 years. The average length of custody time given was 66 months.

By comparison, 77.5% (1026/1324) of all offenders studied in this 2-year analysis (drug and nondrug) were convicted and sentenced,

and of those sentenced, 64.8% (665/1026) were sentenced to the custody of the Attorney General. Of drug offenders, 80.5% (522/648) were convicted and sentenced and of those sentenced, 85% (446/522) were sentenced to the custody of the Attorney General. The average prison term for nondrug offenders was 22 months while the average prison term for drug offenders was 44 months.

IV. DEFENDANTS WHO WERE DETAINED UNTIL CASE DISPOSITION

There were 105 defendants who, once arrested, were never released until there was a final disposition of their case. This amounts to 7.1% of the total 1,473 defendants.

A. Defendant Characteristics

Citizenship - Illegal aliens made up 53% of the defendants that were never released pending case disposition, legal aliens 22.9%, and U.S. citizens 13.3%. The remainder were of unknown citizenship.

Ethnicity - The largest ethnic group represented in this category were Hispanics (66%) with whites second (21.9%), and blacks third (13.3%).

Time in the District - Seventy-six percent (76%) of these defendants had been in the community less than 1 month at the time they were arrested.

Employment - Records indicated that 42% of these defendants were unemployed and that 44% were employed. There were no data available regarding the employment status of the other 14%.

Marital Status - Single defendants made up the largest group in this category (43%), with married defendants second (37%), and those divorced third (6.5%).

Opiate Addiction - Eleven percent (11%) of the defendants in this category were identified as opiate abusers.

Criminal History - Defendants with prior adult convictions constituted 18.1% of this category. Those with previous custodial commitments equaled 11.4%. Thirteen percent (13%) of these defendants had pending offenses at the time of the federal arrest.

B. Defendants and Court Process

Bail and Detention - Sixty-one percent (61%) of the defendants who were detained until disposition had bails in excess of \$20,000.

The average amount of bail for those charged with narcotics offenses never released was \$212,000, and the average amount set for nondrug defendants was \$19,300.

Case Dispositions - Of those 105 defendants never released, 1 (.9%) was discharged, 5 (4.8%) were dismissed, 6 (5.7%) were acquitted, and 93 (88.6%) were convicted.

Of the 93 defendants convicted, 19 (20.4%) received a probation sentence; 2 (2.2%) received probation, fine and restitution; 10 (10.8%) received a split sentence (custody and probation); 59 (63.4%) received custody sentences; 2 (2.2%) received custody, fine, and restitution; and 1 (1.1%) received a mixed sentence (probation to follow prison term).

Of the 59 sentenced to custody, 10 (16.9%) received 1-6 months, 11 (18.6%) received 7-18 months, 20 (33.9%) received 19-36 months 10 (16.9%) received 37-60 months, 4 (6.8%) received 61-84 months, 1 (1.7%) received 85-108 months, 1 (1.7%) received 109-132 months, and 2 (3.4%) received 133-999 months.

Sixty-one (58%) of those defendants never released were charged with drug offenses.

Of the 61 defendants that were charged with drug offenses and never released, 1 was discharged, 2 were dismissed, 4 were acquitted, and 54 were convicted.

Of those convicted, 1 received probation, 1 received probation, fine, and restitution, and the remaining 52 received custody sentences. The average length probation sentence for those never released was 15 months. Forty-eight of the 52 custody sentences were straight custody sentences with 6 (11.5%) receiving 1-6 months, 11 (21.2%) receiving 7-18 months, 20 (38.5%) receiving 19-36 months, 8 (15.4%) receiving 37-60 months, 4 (7.7%) receiving 61-84 months, and 1 each receiving 85-108, 109-132, and 133-999 months. The average length of sentence for those who were convicted of drug offenses and never released pretrial was 36 months. The average length of sentence in the 10 Pretrial Services Agency districts for this category was 59 months.

SUMMARY

Drug offenders make up over 50% of the defendants in the Southern District of Florida and prosecution for drug related offenses is on the increase. The offenses most frequently charged were selling and importation of cocaine and marijuana. Of those defendants charged with drug offenses, less than 50% were U.S. citizens, over 50% were Hispanic of Latin American origin, and almost one-half of the defendants had lived in the district less than one month at the time the offense for which they were charged occurred. We could verify prior criminal record in only 26% of the drug cases. Money bail exceeding \$20,000 was set for 63% of the drug defendants resulting in a 92.3% release rate and of those released, 17.6 failed to appear after bail was set. The average amount of bail for those charged with drug offenses who appeared for trial was \$41,000. The average length of sentence for the drug offender receiving a custody sentence is 44 months.

Of those defendants charged with drug offenses who failed to appear, 74% were of undetermined citizenship, 75% were Hispanic origin, 85% had been in the district for less than a month at the time the offense occurred, and of those who failed to appear, 73% remain in fugitive status. We could verify prior criminal record in only 21.5% of the cases and only 5.2% were found to have other charges pending at the time of release. The average amount of bail set for those charged with drug offenses who failed to appear was \$75,800 compared to \$212,000 average bail set for those charged with drug offenses who were detained and never released pretrial. For the 26% who failed to appear but were later returned to court and sentenced to custody, the average amount of bail was \$57,100 and the average sentence was 59 months.

In 10 districts where comparable data have been collected by Pretrial Services, drug offenders account for approximately 20% of the total number of defendants and the prosecution for drug related offenses have shown a slight decline over the past 2 years. The offenses most often charged in the ten districts are possession and

- B -

distribution. Of those defendants charged with drug offenses, 87% were U.S. citizens, 58% were white, 38% were black, and 10.4% were Hispanic. Only 11.8% of those drug offenders in the 10 demonstration districts had lived in the district for less than one month prior to committing the offense for which they were charged. In this category 46.9% were found to have a prior record with 16.6% having other charges pending at the time of release. Money bail exceeding \$20,000 was set for 19% of these defendants resulting in an 88% release rate and of those released, 1.6% failed to appear. The average bail set for those who were released and appeared for trial and disposition with no failure to appear was \$25,000. The average length of sentence for the drug defendants receiving custody sentences was 33 months.

Of those 48 defendants who failed to appear, 68.8% were U.S. citizens. Thirty-nine point six percent of those who failed to appear were caucasian, 31.3% were black, and Hispanics accounted for 20.8%. Only 10.4% of the 48 defendants who failed to appear had been in the district for less than one month prior to committing the crime for which they were charged. In this group, 25.4% had a prior record and 40.3% had other offenses pending at the time of release. The average amount of bail set for those charged with drug offenses that appeared for trial and final disposition was \$16,000. The average length of sentence for those receiving a custody sentence in this group was 46 months.

The volume and dollar value of drugs per defendant in the Southern District of Florida is immense - many times greater than the volume and dollar value of drugs per defendant in the 10 Pretrial Services Agency districts or nationally. In addition, the impact of plea bargaining and a defendant's cooperation with the government are variables that we cannot assess. The volume of drugs, plea bargaining, and cooperation with the government all may have substantial impact on the release conditions and the length of final sentence.

- C -

The frequency of drug offenses, the value of the drugs per offense, citizenship, ethnicity, length of time in the community, and criminal history appear to be the variables that reflect the greatest contrast between the defendants in the Southern District of Florida who fail to appear and those in the 10 Pretrial Services Agency districts.

END